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Great Providences
Buffalo, 1864

REV. MR. BINGHAM'S
THANKSGIVING DISCOURSE.

MDCCCLXIV.

*Great Providences toward the Loyal
Part of this Nation.*

A

DISCOURSE

DELIVERED AT A UNITED SERVICE OF THE SEVEN PRESBYTERIAN
CONGREGATIONS OF BUFFALO,

NOVEMBER 24, 1864, ON OCCASION OF THE

ANNUAL THANKSGIVING

BOTH OF THE STATE AND OF THE NATION.

BY JOEL F. BINGHAM,

PASTOR OF WESTMINSTER CONGREGATION.

BUFFALO:
BREED, BUTLER AND COMPANY.

1864.

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FRANKLIN PRINTING HOUSE.
THOMAS, TYPOGRAPHER.

DISCOURSE.



THE LORD HATH DONE GREAT THINGS FOR US; WHEREOF WE ARE
GLAD.—PSALM CXXVI. 3.

GREAT or small in an estimate of favors is a judgment which does not rest altogether upon the accredited measures of material value here below, but involves also considerations lying quite apart from the operation of any commercial standard. The gifts which we receive and the services that are done as tokens of interest and affection in our behalf possess, in the estimation of all intelligent and well-disposed persons, a second and superadded value which is quite independent of their price in the market.

This thought should lie at the bottom of our gratitude to-day; let us linger for a moment to

weigh its significance. When a widowed mother fighting feebly with poverty has contrived by incessant toil and many a stern self-denial to secure year by year for her darling little son the scanty and homely articles of his slender wardrobe and a bare sufficiency of the plainest food, till his hands have grown strong for labor and his mind has matured to contrive for himself and for her; in after years when that maternal form is resting from labors and has even mouldered back to dust in its narrow bed, unless human feeling has died also in his hardened bosom, unless he has become recreant to all the nobler sentiments which are inbred in our common nature, those homely garments put together of many a piece by the loving fingers of a worn and weary mother and those plain meals procured by the supremest exertions of a self-martyred affection will appear to his fond recollections a thousand times more precious, than the gayest apparel of fashion and the most luxurious viands which gold could buy in the markets of a heartless world. It is not a mere fancy of which we here speak. The quality which enriches that poor food and gilds that plain apparel is not a delusion of the

imagination. This kind of value has a solid reality; and it is one of the rarest treasures we shall ever meet with in the whole course of our existence. A mother's unselfish love, and that whole rank of priceless sympathies of which it is the purest and the brightest earthly type, are, fortunately, a glorious reality, and a boon upon our imperfect condition here below, which is neither sold in any market, nor to be bought with gold.

Now if you will exalt this quality in your conceptions, till it shall be pure enough and universal enough to be an attribute of our heavenly Father's heart, you will have arrived at the thought which, as we said, ought to be fundamental in our thankful reflections to-day. From this point of view, it would be strange, if many favors of His providence which we have been wont to overlook, or look upon as trifling matters, should not assume a new magnitude in our eyes, and all the infinitude of His doings of goodness should not be overlayed with the gladdening charm of a new and unspeakable sweetness. The smallest gifts, gilded with a heavenly Father's thoughtful and untiring love, would appear great things indeed; and

the discovery would ease many a chafing dissatisfaction and brighten every allotment, personal, social, national. For though the figure which we have cited and are now about to dismiss be the nearest similitude that earth can afford, nevertheless, it fades utterly away. He declares, in the comparison with the actual reality of His own measureless, tireless parental care. "*Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? Yea they may forget, yet will not I forget thee.*"

Since last we met in this annual convocation, three hundred and sixty new pages in the unfolding journal of Providence have been developed to each of us and written out with unseen fingers for eternity. Here are recorded certain *general blessings*—upon which for the reasons soon to be stated we can only touch to-day—that have descended upon us in common with all our fellow men in every part of the world, from the parental Hand above.

Although it is little that some of us may think of it, it is written on those now invisible pages for a testimony to the goodness of God, how *our constantly returning hunger and na-*

kedness and that of our wives and children has been supplied and these perishing bodies nourished and covered — not by our money, which, left to itself, would soon leave us to perish — not by our labor, which is but running to help ourselves from the crib and the wardrobe of the Almighty — not by our sagacity or anxious thought, which could not bring one fertilizing summer shower across our meadows, nor arrest the ravages of a little insect in our fields, nor stay the spreading plague that should sweep our herds and flocks clean from the face of the earth — but by the sleepless thought of Him “*who careth for us,*” and from the unfailing bounty of Him “*who openeth His hand, and satisfieth the desire of every living thing.*”

On each page of that imperishable diary is written, also, *a series of personal incidents* which in great part are unknown even, here below, except to the individual and to God, but which testify now in the secret of each heart, and when, as we are told, every secret shall be manifested, will testify also in the grand auditory of the universe, how the Unseen Hand guided in mercy our individual

steps, each in a different but blessed way, through the whole checkered scene.

Oh, it is not a little thing, also, though the most forgotten of all, that the Hand which holds back the day of doom, until its appointed hour, has extended to the thousand millions of the fallen race, as well as to each one of us in particular, *another year of that heavenly grace which is proclaimed under the Gospel of a Divine Redeemer!*

But these general themes and such as these, brimming as they are with parental tenderness from above, but suited alike to all mankind, may, we think, wisely and well be absorbed, for the present moment, in a more special and pressing call for gratitude and praise — may wisely and well become almost inaudible, to-day, beneath the tones of a more domestic, extraordinary, national rejoicing. We hope to convince you, fellow-citizens, if you are not already convinced of it, that we were never before assembled to perform these exercises of public gratitude to God — that a similar assembly was never before convened on this American continent, when the peculiar and extraordinary national favors of a past twelve-

month, or of a past *quadrennium*, have called for so thoughtful and so devoutly jubilant a spirit of thanksgiving, as do the great things which the Lord has done for this nation demand of us to-day.

Our principal thought will be drawn from a comparison between *the opposite Providential allotments of ourselves and our opponents in the present contest of arms*. We speak of this fortunate difference of position in the light of a *Providential allotment*, because we are bound to remember that the masses of the Southern people, however earnestly they may now desire the success of their mistaken cause, are in fact ranged to-day on that side of the struggle, only because, by the inscrutable appointment of Him "*who hath fixed the bounds of their habitation*," their dwellings were found within the limits of a territory lying under the power of those malign forces which were at last successful in carrying those dwellings, with all the precious objects they contained, into the posture of rebellion and of a rival independence. The masses of the people and public sentiment, everywhere, are controlled by a comparatively few persons, and above and be-

yond them, even, by principles, traditions and a combination of intangible and incalculable forces which seem almost to spring out of the soil, permeating the whole atmosphere that rests upon it, and which men inhale, as it were, with the air they are compelled to breathe. So that, while it might be the unworthy prompting of a foolish vanity, or of something worse, to claim a superior virtue, or any greatly superior wisdom, even, as the essential thing which blesses us above those who have ranged themselves as enemies against us and against the government of our common country; yet it cannot be otherwise than wise and well, that both we and our growing children should fully appreciate our relative position in this struggle, and the combined duty and necessity which lies on us to carry it, at all costs, to a successful issue; that we and they should understand this with the thoroughness and exactitude which affords repose and confidence and hope to the heart which *knows* it is striving for the right.

It is impossible to over-estimate the happy difference between standing united in heart and interest with a dying cause, upon the de-

parted ghost of which God, the unprejudiced nations of mankind, and posterity as it comes to read dispassionately the history of these days, must frown and leave their curse, and standing in connection with a triumphant cause, which, notwithstanding some human errors, has been in the main right, in sympathy with the benign purposes of God, and promotive of a true human development and the greatest happiness of mankind. To be in the right, to see clearly that we are so, to be recognized of God, mankind and posterity as being so, is of immeasurable consequence—is not only of unspeakable moment to us as a generation now on the stage of life, but is of yet greater importance to us as a nation that hopes to propagate itself through many glorious and happy generations of the future. For if it be so, we shall live and prosper; no matter what trials we are brought to encounter, we shall succeed. If it be otherwise, we shall fail; no matter what pride, passion and momentary power may do, we shall miserably fail.

1. *What, then, are we fighting for?* Let us accept the answer from the mouth of the enemy. First of all, he tells us that he stands

upon the doctrine, and is fighting for the realization of it, that *any States of this Union, whenever they please, have a right to withdraw from all allegiance to the general government, and to set up in the world for themselves.* That is to say, according to the exposition of their own advocates, that this nation is not a *nation*; that the laws of the national Congress are of no binding force; as against conflicting laws of a State legislature; that in the interpretation of the laws of Congress, and of the national Constitution, the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States cannot override the conflicting decision of a State Court; that the President of the United States has no right to use the combined power of the country “*to coerce*” a delinquent “*Sovereign State.*”

THE QUESTION NOT NOW ONE OF POLICY BUT OF FACT.

It does not lie in the line of our present observations to discuss the comparative value of the policy of “State Sovereignty,” and that of a National Unity. Such a comparison, in one aspect, would no doubt startle us with images of perpetual *domestic feuds* and an unlimited *disintegration of society*, till this

glorious structure of free institutions tumbled in shameful and bloody fragments, and was whirled by a tornado of anarchy into the ever yawning pit of unmitigated despotism. In another aspect, the *ridiculous weakness* of such a state of society, even if peace could be successfully maintained, in this day, when the mighty nations of the world are not only striving for the mastery of each other, but are agreed in plotting to curb and humiliate our unparalleled and, in their view, impertinent growth of enterprise and power—the belittling and suicidal folly of such a policy would no doubt seem too absurd to be listened to by men of common intelligence and honesty. But this question we are not required to argue to-day. However the glory of such a policy may haunt the fancy of our enemies, it lies quite outside the lists of this war. The question which now lies under the arbitrament of arms is not whether it *would be a better policy* to have a National Government, causing State Sovereignty with all its glory to yield, but whether we *have or have not* a national government, which within prescribed limits is supreme over this whole land, and against the operation of which

the violent resistance of any part is a dreadful *wrong and crime* upon the other parts—is deadly *treason*. It is purely a question of fact, of a fact, indeed, which is so momentous that on it depends the posture of our lives and fortunes, and which therefore may not be put at the mercy of the wishes or the speculations of anybody, but must be decided by the evidence, by the unbending record. The affirmation of this must be true or false; and if it be false, then we of the North are in the wrong, and have been, during the last four years, outrageous oppressors and murderers. The converse must hold good with respect to our foes.

THE ANTIQUITY OF THIS HERESY.

Now the yearning, on the one hand, that this Southern fiction should be true, is no sentiment of recent birth; nor, on the other hand, is the fact that such is not the government which is erected by the National Constitution a recent discovery. Fortunately we have the proof on record. In the original framing convention, they who argued in opposition to the adoption opposed it upon this very plea, eloquently pointing out its consolidating intent and

force, a result which they dreaded as tyrannical and perilous. In the speeches which were made in opposition to the ratification, as it passed for that purpose to the conventions in the several States, frequent exclamations of alarm were heard against its sweeping provisions. The objectors declared aloud their dislike and their misgivings that "all power with regard to war, to treaties, to diplomatic and commercial intercourse with foreign nations, to the currency, to naturalization, to the draft and support of armies," and other essential functions of a sovereign State, were taken away from the local authorities, and concentrated in the General Government. The opposers urged, also, as another proof of the correctness of their fears, that the very preamble to this instrument declared it to be "the work of the *people* of the United States, and not a contract between the *States* as separate sovereign communities." In the Virginia ratifying convention, which sat in June, 1788, Mr. Patrick Henry powerfully resisted its adoption on the plea to which we have just alluded. "That this instrument constitutes a consolidated government," said he, "is demonstrably clear; and the danger of such a government is, to my

mind, very striking. I have the highest veneration for those gentlemen who formed this Constitution; but, Sir, give me leave to demand, What right had they to say, *We the people* of these United States? Who authorized them to say *We the people* instead of *We the States*? *States*, Sir, are the characteristics and the soul of a *confederation*. If the States be not the agents of this compact, then, Sir, it must be one great, consolidated National Government. I need not take much pains, Sir, to show that the principles of this system are extremely pernicious, impolitic and dangerous." The advocates of the instrument frankly answered, "Yes, it is the work of the *people* of the United States." "The end sought by this framework is the consolidation of our Union." In short, it was openly the purpose of the framers of the Constitution, and in opposition to a strenuous resistance, to render the inhabitants of all the United States substantially and truly one people, living under one common, supreme government, and known to the world by the national designation of the American people. This matter was well understood, and debated till there seemed nothing more to be

said, whether by the opposers or the advocates of its adoption. Upon this issue it went to the vote. The several constitutional conventions ratified it; and so, in this light and with this intent, it became, in the beginning, the fundamental, and, in its own terms, the supreme law of the land.

THE BEGINNING OF RESISTANCE UNDER THE CONSTITUTION.

The new machinery, started, as we have said, in the midst of many apprehensions in the most patriotic hearts, worked admirably, better than its advocates even had dared to hope; and so great and manifest were its advantages, and the material prosperity which followed in its train, that all opposition, though not exterminated, was for ten years perfectly silenced from the public ear. That silence was broken by the famous "Resolutions of 1798." These emanated from the Legislature of Kentucky — a new State and an off-shoot of Virginia. Under the pretext of two inoperative but obnoxious laws, which had been lately enacted by Congress, known as "The Alien and Sedition laws," the one of which authorized the President of the United States "to send out of the

country any foreigner whose further stay among us should be deemed by him incompatible with the public safety or tranquility," while the other provided for the special prosecution and punishment of libels on the President and other national officers, the Assembly of Kentucky passed a series of resolutions which, as it afterwards appeared, had been drawn by Mr. Jefferson, and which, though quite indefinite and ambiguous in phraseology, condemned the Alien and Sedition laws as unconstitutional and void; and proceeded, among other things, to declare that "whenever the general government transcends the powers expressly delegated to it by the letter of the Constitution, then its acts are void and of no force; moreover, that *the general government created by the Constitution was not made the final judge as to what powers were thus delegated to itself*; but that each State, having acceded to the constitutional compact as a State and an integral party, its co-States being the other party, therefore, as in all other cases of compact between powers having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, both of infractions and of the mode and measure of redress;"

also, that the co-States will concur with this Commonwealth in declaring the said acts to be void and of no force, and will each take measures of its own in providing that neither these acts nor any others of the general government, not plainly authorized by the Constitution, shall be exercised within their respective territories." In 1799, the Legislature of Virginia, in response to the call of her daughter, passed a series of resolutions, drawn by Mr. Madison, and essentially similar to those which have been cited both in spirit and in language. This was the first muttering thunder of the doctrine of State rights under the Constitution; but as the matter was mainly one of theory, under which in fact no actual case of any great moment had arisen, and especially as it had been made a party hobby, called "strict construction," and on the accession of Mr. Jefferson to the Presidency in 1801, the political party against which the "Resolves" had been fulminated retired from power never to return, nothing more ever came of this demonstration.

UNIVERSAL CONDEMNATION OF THE HARTFORD CONVENTION.

In 1814, the last year of the war with

England, the pressure of the war upon the commercial interests of the Eastern States, whose shipping had already been almost destroyed by the British "Orders in Council," the "Decrees" of Napoleon, and the American "Act of Embargo," occasioned the meeting of the notorious Hartford Convention which indulged in the utterance of great discontent with the administration of the general government and in language which *was construed and denounced* as tending to disunion. This charge, however, the authors always repelled; and it must be admitted that the recorded evidence is barely sufficient to leave us in doubt whether they ever meditated any overt acts of rebellion, or intended, even, to propagate any such doctrine. The doings of this Convention, though totally inoperative as to their own projects, have become of great historic value from the decided expression of sentiment, in the opposite direction, which the occasion called out from other sections of the country, particularly from the South.

The Richmond *Enquirer* of Nov. 1, 1814, in response to the rhetorical fulminations of the Hartford Convention, proceeded to say :

“No man, no association of men, no State or set of States has a right to withdraw itself from this Union of its own account. The same power that knit us together can unknit. The same formality which formed the links of the Union is necessary to dissolve it. The majority of the States which formed the Union must consent to the withdrawal of any branch of it. Until that consent has been obtained, any attempt to dissolve the Union, or distract the efficacy of its laws, is treason — treason to all intents and purposes.”

Similar expressions of the prevailing sentiment of the country appeared everywhere, at the South and at the North. The reflection is forced upon us that the true historic meaning of the Constitution as well as its plain verbal force has been unmistakably obvious to all sections of the country and at all times, *except where and when its provisions and its spirit have appeared to stand in the way of the gratification of some lawless passion, or of the attainment of some sectional and selfish end.*

NULLIFICATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

In 1828, General Jackson having just taken the Presidential chair, the Tariff was raised by Congress to the highest and most protective point ever adopted in this country. The bill had been opposed by the unanimous vote of the Cotton States and by a majority of the members

from New England, "some provisions having been engrafted upon it which rendered it unacceptable to the Eastern States." The slumbering embers of Southern State resistance now began again to glow. Mr. Calhoun, who from a bosom friend had become, through political rivalry and disappointment, a bitter personal enemy to General Jackson, now brought to bear all the power of his subtile intellect and indomitable will to fan these embers into a flame of open defiance to the national authority. The old and never quite forgotten dogma of State sovereignty was revived into new vigor, matured, elaborated and ramified by Mr. Calhoun and several leading minds of his school, and actively published through the State of South Carolina and throughout the Southern States. Week by week and day by day this doctrine was assiduously inculcated upon the readers of the principal newspapers. Year by year it was proclaimed with great energy in hundreds of orations on the Fourth of July. It became stock material for stump speeches, and not seldom was heard from the pulpit, the bar, the judicial bench. It was a great staple of conversation at town meetings, in court house

lobbies, and in private gatherings. The blaze was effectively kindled; and notwithstanding Congress, after three years, in the winter of 1831, greatly modified the offensive bill, the fiery tide was not thus to be quelled.

THE RESISTING ORDINANCE.

In the autumn of 1832 General Jackson was re-elected to the Presidency without the electoral vote of South Carolina. Immediately a convention of the people of that State was called, which met on the 19th of November. The result of its deliberations was embodied in the "Ordinance of Nullification," drawn by a special committee of twenty-one, and adopted by the Convention unanimously. The instrument pronounced the existing Tariff "null, void and no law, nor binding on this State, its officers or citizens." After the first day of February ensuing, it was forbidden that the duties imposed by the law should be paid within the State of South Carolina. The ordinance also prescribed that no appeal should be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States against the validity of any laws which the Legislature should enact in pursuance of

this ordinance ; that any attempt to appeal to the Judiciary of the United States from any decision of a State Court affirming and upholding this ordinance, should be dealt with as for a contempt of the Court so upholding and affirming. Every office-holder of the State, and every juror was required to take an oath of obedience to this ordinance, and to all legislative acts which should be based upon it. Should the Federal Government proceed to enforce the law thus nullified, or in any manner to obstruct the foreign commerce of the State, then, says the ordinance, "the people of this State will thenceforth hold themselves absolved from all further obligation to maintain their political connection with the people of the other States, and will forthwith proceed to organize a separate government, and do all other acts and things which sovereign and independent States may of right do." The Legislature proceeded at once to pass the requisite acts, and all was made ready to carry the ordinance into practical effect.

WEBSTER ON THE EXTENT OF THE CONSTITUTION.

During the years in which the storm was

gathering in South Carolina, its echoes frequently sounded, through her senators and representatives, in the halls of Congress. The most memorable instance of this kind occurred in the Senate Chamber in January, 1830. In the course of a rambling speech on the matter of distributing the public lands, a senator from South Carolina boldly proclaimed, two years in advance of the actual birth of the "Ordinance of Nullification," that not the Supreme Court of the United States, but the legislatures and the courts of the several States, are the final judges upon the constitutionality of the laws of Congress, and that whenever these authorities shall judge any law of Congress to be an overstepping of its appropriate powers, they may declare it void, resist its execution, and, if they please, retire from any further connection with the general government.

Mr. Webster, on that occasion, observed with unanswerable logic:

"The gentleman argues that if this government be the sole judge of the extent of its own powers, it subverts State sovereignty. His *opinion* may be that this right *ought not* to have been lodged with the general government; he may *like better* such a Constitution as we should have under the right of State interference; but I ask him to meet me on

the plain matter of fact. I ask him to meet me on the Constitution itself. I ask him if the power is not found there, clearly and visibly found there?

"The Constitution declares that the laws of Congress, passed in pursuance of the Constitution, shall be the supreme law of the land. It declares, also, with equal plainness and precision, that the judicial power of the United States shall extend to every case arising under the laws of Congress. Here is a law, then, which is declared to be supreme, and here is a power established which is to interpret the law. Now, Sir, how has the gentleman met this? Suppose the Constitution to be a compact, yet here are its terms, and how does the gentleman get rid of them? He cannot argue *the seal off the bond*, nor the words out of the instrument. Here they are; what answer does he give them? None in the world, Sir, except that the effect of this would be to place the States in a condition of inferiority; from the nature of things, there being no superior, the parties must be their own judges. The gentleman says, if there be such a power of final decision in the general government, he asks for the grant of the power. Well, Sir, I show him the grant. I turn him to the very words. I show him that the laws of Congress are made supreme, and that the judicial power extends, by express words, to the interpretation of these laws. Instead of answering this, he retreats into the general reflection that it must result *from the nature of things*, that the States being, as he affirms, parties, must judge for themselves.

"Sir, the people of the United States have at no time, in no way, directly or indirectly authorized any State Legislature to construe or interpret *their* high instrument of government, much less to interfere, by their own power, to arrest its course and operation. If the people in these respects had done otherwise than they have done, their Constitution could neither have been preserved, nor would it

have been worth preserving. And if its plain provisions shall now be disregarded, and these new doctrines interpolated in it, it will become as feeble and helpless a being as its enemies, whether early or more recent, could possibly desire. It will exist in every State but as a poor dependent on State permission. It must borrow leave to be, and will be no longer than State pleasure or State discretion sees fit to grant the indulgence, and to prolong its poor existence."

THE ATTITUDE OF THE PRESIDENT TOWARD THE THREATENED
RESISTANCE.

General Jackson, before his accession to the Presidency, was reckoned as belonging to the strict State Rights school, as the doctrine was expounded by Mr. Jefferson and even as it was still further expanded by Mr. Calhoun; and in the collision between Webster and Hayne, it was generally supposed that the sympathies of the President were with the senator from South Carolina. But whether it be that his private sentiments on this point were from the first of a different character, while he still preserved, on other grounds, a political affiliation with these men; or whether it be that during these four years of preliminary agitation, new light broke into his mind which caused him to discard sentiments and prejudices which he once actually entertained; the crisis, at all events, found him prepared

to meet it in a manner which history will never forget to point out, as standing in a glorious contrast to that in which a weak occupant of the same position, twenty-eight years later, failed to meet a crisis which, at its beginning, was precisely similar.

Early in December, 1832, appeared a Presidential Proclamation, pointing to Nullification as Treason, and declaring the President's determination to strike down the first overt act of resistance to the processes of the general government by all the power of the nation.

"The Constitution of the United States," the President observes, in that Proclamation, "forms a government, not a league; and whether it be formed by compact between the States, or in any other manner, its character is the same, it is a government in which all the people are represented, and which acts directly upon the people individually, not upon the States. Certainly, the States retained all the power they did not grant; but, having expressly parted with so many powers as to constitute, jointly with the other States, a single nation, they cannot from that period possess any right to secede; because such secession does not break a league, but destroys the unity of a nation, and any injury to that unity is not only the breach of a compact, but it is an offense against the whole Union. To say that any State may at pleasure secede from the Union, is to say that the United States are not a nation; because it would be absurd to say that any part of a nation might dissolve its connection with the other parts, to their injury or ruin, without committing any offense. Seces-

sion, like any other revolutionary act, may be morally justified by the extremity of oppression; but to call it a constitutional right is a gross error, intended to deceive those who are willing to assert a right, but would pause before they make a revolution, or incur the penalties of a failure.

"But the dictates of high duty," he adds in conclusion, "oblige me solemnly to announce that you cannot succeed. The laws of the United States must be executed. My duty is emphatically pronounced in the Constitution. Those who told you that you might peaceably prevent their execution deceived you. They know that a forcible opposition alone could prevent the execution of the laws, and they know that such opposition must be repelled. Their object is disunion. Be not deceived by names. Disunion, by armed force, is treason. Are you ready to incur its guilt? If you are, on the heads of the instigators of the act be the dishonor; but on yours will fall the punishment—on your unhappy State will inevitably fall the evils of the conflict you force on the Government of your country. Its destroyers you can not be. You may disturb its peace; you may interrupt the course of its prosperity; you may cloud its reputation for stability; but its tranquillity will be restored, its prosperity will return and the stain upon its national character will be transferred, and remain an eternal blot on the memory of those who caused the disorder."

THE SENTIMENT OF THE COUNTRY IN SUPPORT OF THE PRESIDENT.

About the middle of January following, the President sent also to Congress a Special Message upon the same subject, in which he declared the most positive hostility to the heretical doctrine of secession under every

aspect, and again dissected the Ordinance of Nullification and the legislative acts which had been based on it, with unanswerable cogency. The people of the whole country, though doubtless there were great numbers in the aggregate who sympathized with the nullifiers, sustained the President, at the South as well as at the North, in overwhelming majorities. In those States, even, which three months before had shown great majorities against his re-election, a sweeping enthusiasm now prevailed with the determination to sustain the President to the uttermost in his grapple with rampant treason. In the principal cities of all the States, except of course the delinquent herself, and one sympathizing sister, great public meetings were held in which men of all political parties vied with one another in applauding the course which the President had adopted and in promising him every assistance in his purpose of preserving the unity and life of the Republic. Virginia, alone, exhibited any official sympathy with the nullifying State. Her legislature sent a commissioner to South Carolina to signify her fraternal regard; and her Governor, John

Floyd, the father of the late John B. Floyd, Mr. Buchanan's Secretary of War, in his annual Message said something about "opposing by force the passage of a Federal army southward through the Old Dominion on an errand of subjugation."

THE COLLAPSE OF NULLIFICATION.

But the movement of such an army never became necessary. As early as the 6th of November preceding, General Scott had been ordered to Charleston "for the purpose of superintending the safety of the ports of the United States in that vicinity." Confidential orders of a most stringent character were sent to the Collector of the port of Charleston; and such a military and naval force as could be immediately brought to the spot were concentrated in the harbor and adjacent forts. The means of prevention proved sufficient. No collision occurred. No overt act of resistance was attempted.

Meantime Congress had taken up the subject of the Tariff; and a bill still further reducing the rates had been reported from the Committee of Ways and Means. This bill lingered

long in debate and never was passed, a compromise measure, introduced by Mr. Clay reducing the imposts by tenths annually for ten years, until in 1842 and thenceforward the maximum duty should be twenty per cent., being finally enacted in the last days of the session. The debate of the measure, however, in Congress, afforded the necessary pretext to save the honor of the vanquished chivalry. "A few days before the 1st of February, the Nullifying chiefs met at Charleston and resolved that inasmuch as measures were then pending in Congress which contemplated such reductions of duties on imports as South Carolina demanded, the execution of the Nullifying Ordinance and of all legislative acts subsidiary thereto should be postponed till after the adjournment of the Congress."

This was the end of that incipient rebellion which is known as Nullification. The manner of its collapse was somewhat unsatisfactory to many patriots, and among them, as is well known, to General Jackson himself. They regretted that the question had not come to a more practical issue and a more thorough decision, once for all. They apprehended a

fresh arising of the same lawless spirit, and predicted, at that time, even, that the same issue would be again brought upon the country, under the pretext of "the negro question." How correctly they judged we have learned to our cost.

THE MORAL VALUE OF THAT ABORTIVE STRUGGLE.

But if the question was not then *practically* decided and finished, it was *morally* so. It is chiefly for this reason that we have thus dwelt on these details. *We have seen that the Constitution was endorsed anew and interpreted beyond mistake by overwhelming majorities, both of the States and of the people as individuals.* The whole genius and spirit of our republican institutions was discussed and sifted to the bottom, and the people, with the exception of a comparatively small fraction, declared again, as they had done at the first, that the American Republic is one nation, indissoluble and perpetual; that the right of separation, at the pleasure of a single part, is a thing which is impossible; that the only right which pertains to the case is that *revolutionary right* of violent separation which belongs to all men, *under intolerable injus-*

tice and oppression, and which has never been disputed. These results, at least, were developed from that abortive commotion of 1832. They stand upon the page of history; and could not be made more palpable, though printed with stars on the midnight sky.*

THE GROUNDS OF A JUSTIFIABLE SEPARATION.

It is conceivable, however, as we have said, that a violent separation of a minority, even from the most legitimate government in the world, should be a justifiable act, because an act of righteous revolution in self-defense. It is possible to conceive that injustice and oppression should have been so heaped upon a part of the nation, by the General Government, as to render it not only the inalienable right of the injured party, but also a sacred duty to their children, to resist and tear themselves

* It has seemed to me quite unnecessary, besides savoring of pretensions which I have no desire to make, to fortify in a separate note each historic statement by a reference to authorities. The longer quotations constitute their own references which can easily be verified; and any one, I presume, who will wish to consult original authorities on the minor allusions and general drift of my remarks can hardly need to be referred to the *Federalist*, Mr. Justice Story on the Constitution, Elliott's Debates, Niles' Register, Adams' Works, Webster's Works, the Congressional Globe, the file of any trustworthy newspaper during the last thirty years, the autobiography of General Scott, and I will venture to add, an *excellent*, though as it appears to me a somewhat over-colored and partisan chapter on State Rights in Mr. Greeley's *American Conflict*.

away from intolerable tyranny by force and blood, regardless of the damage, even, to the old offending government and people. Such were the clear grounds of the immortal struggle of our fathers for our own independence.

THE CLAIM OF INJURY.

2. *What, then, in the next place, are the specifications of intolerable injustice and oppression* which are claimed by our foes to have been inflicted by the General Government on the States or the people of the States now in rebellion, and which confer upon them the revolutionary right—the right of nature—to tear themselves out from the nation, to dismember the national territory, to cripple the national resources, to humiliate the national honor, to wound the national credit, to undermine the confidence of the world in the stability of our institutions, to sever the great artery of our constitutional life, and to launch us unprotected upon an unknown career of disorganization and endless commotions and blood and ruin?

MR. STEPHENS ON THE WRONGS OF THE SOUTH.

An able and eminent gentleman of the South, now Vice President of the Southern

Confederacy, when resisting to the last moment the revolutionary act of the Convention which met at Milledgeville in November, 1860, and which finally passed the Ordinance that placed him and his State in the attitude of rebellion to the government of his country, stated briefly and well nearly all that can be truthfully alleged on this point.

“What reasons,” he demands, “can you give to the nations of the earth to justify it? To what course, or one overt act can you point, on which to rest the plea of justification? What right has the North assailed? What interest of the South has been invaded? What justice has been denied?—or what claim founded in justice and right has been withheld? Can either of you to-day name one governmental act of wrong, deliberately and purposely done by the government at Washington, of which the South has a right to complain? I challenge the answer. While on the other hand, let me show the facts—and believe me gentlemen, I am not here the advocate of the North, but I am here the friend, the firm friend and lover of the South and her institutions, and for this reason I speak thus plainly and faithfully to yours, mine, and every other man’s interest, the words of truth and soberness—of which I wish you to judge, and I will only state facts which are clear and undeniable, and which now stand as records authentic in the history of our country.

“When we of the South demanded the slave trade, or the importation of Africans for the cultivation of our lands, did they not yield the right for twenty years? When we asked a three-fifths representation in Congress, was it not granted? When we demanded the return of any fugitive

from justice, or the recovery of those persons owing labor or allegiance, was it not incorporated in the Constitution? — and was it not again ratified and strengthened in the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850? Do you reply that in many instances they have violated this compact? As individuals, or as local communities even, they may have done so; but not by the sanction of government, for that has always been true to Southern interests.

“Again, gentlemen, look at another fact; when we have asked that more territory should be added that we might spread the institution of slavery, have they not yielded to our demands, and given us Louisiana, Florida and Texas, out of which four States have been carved, with ample territory for four more, in due time to be added?

“Again, gentlemen, we have always had the control of the General Government, and can have still if we remain under it and are as united as we have been. A majority of the Presidents have been chosen from the South, while we have controlled those elected from the North. We have had sixty-four years of Southern Presidents, they twenty-four. Of the Judges of the Supreme Court, eighteen have come from the South, eleven from the North; and while nearly four-fifths of the judicial business has arisen in the Free States, yet a majority of the Court has always been from the Slave States. This we have required, to guard against any interpretation of the Constitution unfavorable to us. Of temporary presiding officers of the Senate we have had twenty-four, they eleven. While the majority of representatives, from their greater population, have always been from the North, yet we have generally secured the Speaker, which we have demanded, because he to a great extent shapes the legislation of the country. Of Attorney Generals we have had fourteen, the North five. Of Foreign Ministers we have had eighty-six, they forty-four. While three-fourths of the business which demands diplomatic agents

abroad is clearly from the North, from their greater commercial interests, yet we have had the principal embassies in order to secure the world's markets for our cotton, tobacco and sugar on the best possible terms. We have had a vast majority of the higher offices of both army and navy, though a larger portion of both soldiers and sailors were drawn from the North. It is equally so of clerks, auditors and comptrollers, filling the Executive Department; the records show that for the last fifty years, of the three thousand thus employed we have had more than two-thirds, while we are but one-third of the white population of the republic.

“Look at another item, that of the revenue or the means of supporting the government. From official documents we learn that a fraction over three-fourths of the revenue collected for the support of the government has uniformly been raised from the North.

“Look at another branch of the government, the Mail and Post Office Department. The Postmaster General reports, for 1860, the expense for transportation in the Free States a little over thirteen millions, the income, nineteen millions; in the Slave States, the transportation nearly fifteen millions, the income, eight millions; leaving a deficit of nearly seven millions to be supplied by the North for our accommodation, and without which we must have been cut off from this most essential branch of the government.

“For what, then, I ask again, are the thousands and tens of thousands of your sons and brothers to be slain in battle? Is it for the overthrow of the American Government, established by our common ancestry, cemented and built up by their sweat and blood, and founded on the broad principles of right, justice and humanity? For my part, I must declare it, as the wisest statesmen and patriots of this or any land have often done before me, the best and freest government—the most equal in its distribu-

tion of rights—the most just in its decisions of conflicting claims—the most lenient in its processes—the most inspiring in its measures to elevate the race of man—that the sun in heaven ever shone upon. To attempt the overthrow of such a government, under which we have lived for more than three-quarters of a century, in which we have gained our wealth, secured our standing as a nation, enjoyed domestic safety while the elements of peril were surging around us, with peace, tranquility, unbounded prosperity and rights unassailed—this I regard as the extremity of madness, the height of folly and of wickedness to which I can neither lend my sanction nor my vote.”

These are the words of an enlightened Southerner, on the very floor of that ill-starred Convention which passed the Ordinance of Secession that robbed him, and thousands who held similar sentiments, of a country and a government which they loved, and against their earnest struggles, threw them helpless into the arms of an outrageous rebellion. They are, moreover, as he claims, beyond all question “the words of truth and soberness.” Here are the facts and the figures. They stand unanswered, for they are unanswerable. So far from having been the victim of injustice and oppression, at the hands of the General Government, the South has notoriously been the petted child and the spoiled child of the Government from the beginning.

THE TRUE ORIGIN OF THE WAR

Enough has been said, perhaps your patience has been taxed longer than was necessary, to demonstrate beyond all answer on which side of this contest the balance of legal justice and of moral right inclines. But this contest did not originate in any sense of injury or wrong. Born of a mistaken but lawless and unscrupulous ambition for Southern independence and a slave oligarchy, *it could not be prevented*. Its leaders were resolved, and had been for more than a generation resolved, to bring it to the terrible hazard of arms. It was written, too, in the plans of the Almighty to test the metal of our patriotism, to draw out and consolidate our national strength, and to rid the land of the curse of slavery which was sadly entailed by our ancestors on this fair home of freedom.

The true cause of this contest, let us distinctly repeat, was and still is *the desire and determination, at all hazards, to open an unbounded extension, both in territory and in time, for the accursed institution of slavery, coupled with the congenital lust for a more aristocratic*

state of society, than prevails among the industrious and equalized masses of the North—two darling and dazzling objects, than which, it is certain, nothing could have been more opposite to the intent of the framers of our Constitution, and which it was plainly impossible ever to realize under the peaceful and legal operation of its provisions. No other sufficient motive, under the circumstances, is conceivable; and no other has ever been alleged, even, which is not utterly without any real foundation in fact. This it was which brought us to the inevitable alternative that three hundred thousand slaveholders, numbering with their wives and children, at the largest estimate, less than two millions of white population, must have their aristocratic will, and dominate, unchecked, not only over their four millions of African slaves, but also over twenty-two millions of co-equal citizens at the North—this mere fraction of the people of the nation, fired by the lust of slavery, and haughty with contempt of labor, must be allowed in all things to arbitrate the destinies of the nation, or rather to arbitrate the overthrow of the nation, to rend our venerable and precious Constitution which has

been the palladium of all our liberty, prosperity and glory, to humiliate every sentiment of nationality in our bosoms, to drag that lovely emblem of our great and mighty Union, the Stars and Stripes, in soiled tatters through the dust, to set a terrible example on our shores of open and successful resistance to lawful government, to rob five-sixths of the actual white population of the country of half their territorial patrimony, their finest seaports, their largest navigable rivers, their interest in the profits of the four greatest commercial staples of the world—in short, must be allowed to perpetrate the highest possible civil and financial wrong on five-sixths of their equal fellow-countrymen, and inflict a fearful wound upon the national life, the fatal issues of which no finite mind can now foresee—or we must accept the stern arbitrament of arms into which they precipitated themselves and us.

A GROUND OF PRESENT NATIONAL THANKSGIVING.

We call upon you, therefore, fellow-citizens, to rejoice with devout thanksgiving to that merciful Providence which, in the unwelcome straits

and severities of this contest, has placed you on such palpable and shining foundations of right, duty and necessity. We call upon you to be devoutly glad that you find yourselves embarked in such a cause as may well give you heart to endure with a cheerful patience its heaviest burdens, and to throw yourselves with the whole energy of your mind, body and estate into a struggle which you can intelligently feel that God must, in all its great outlines, approve, which the unprejudiced nations of mankind must applaud, and for supporting which to a successful issue unborn generations, Southern as well as Northern, will rise up and call you blessed.

THE PRESENT ATTITUDE OF SLAVERY.

Now a word upon a point which once was delicate and difficult. Slavery—once wedded in accursed yet lawful embraces with both Church and State, a principal cause or occasion of this war, without which no civil war among us would have arisen or could have been excited, and which from the beginning of our national existence has given deep anxiety to many a patriotic heart and roused many a

restless complaint—*will cause neither complaint nor anxiety to our children.* That horrible thing, bound to us, nevertheless, by the covenant of a sacred and indissoluble wedlock, and which a year ago many honest patriots would have bartered much, in spite of its treachery, to save, is to-day too far gone to be saved or to be worth the saving. The mortal arrow which was discharged at its head on the First of January, 1863, from the Proclamation of Emancipation, will, it is now evident, carry to the mark. It is equally evident that, had that weapon remained quiet in the quiver, yet the bayonet of the American armies, in its search for the heart of the rebellion, would also, of necessity, have torn the abetting monster's vitals out. Above all, in the house of its friends and admirers, if we may credit the prevailing voice of the Southern press, the last and surest mortal stab is about to be inflicted, under dire necessity, upon its wounded and withering body, by the negro levy of an exhausted and expiring rebellion. Who that loves his country or his children, or claims to feel in his bosom the natural sympathies of

humanity, dare refuse to join in the cry of Amen! Halleluiah!

DOES THE CAUSE JUSTIFY ITS EXPENSE?

We hear much, from certain quarters, in the way of faintheartedness and complaint at *the cost of this war*. Of course, war is terribly expensive. Otherwise it would not be war, it would not be an engine of sufficient dread to smite down a powerful and persistent foe. Its three appalling costs—of money, of life, of limb—constitute the very energy of its curative force. Let us glance a moment at each of these costs as applied to our own case.

It is a prodigious cost of money; and we must include, not only the vast values in property of every description which are involved, whether for use or for destruction, but this, in our case, on both sides of the conflict. Can any possible civil and moral result be worth such an enormous and well nigh incalculable cost of money expended and of property destroyed? But tell me, sir, *how much money will buy a free, just and stable government?* Tell me, O ye captives in the Austrian, the Spanish, the Pontifical dungeons! Count

over the days of the long years since the light has once greeted your faded sight, or the healthful breezes of heaven have once kissed your sallow, emaciated cheeks, and tell me *how much money you would deem a government worth*, under which thirty millions of tongues—no, presently a hundred millions of tongues—may freely speak their opinions, under which thirty millions or a hundred millions of consciences are free in the worship of their Maker! Tell me, O ye expatriated sons of Poland! Cry aloud, each from his lonely hut in the snowy wastes of Siberia, or clanking the hopeless fetters of the chain gang in the mines of the Ural—send your voices, like the moaning of the storm-wind, across the intervening tyrannies of Europe and over the blue, dividing waters of the Atlantic—and tell the American people, *to save the expense of how many dollars* you would advise them to give up their experiment of free institutions!

But war costs life, yes, the solemn expense of human life. In this fearful cost, three parties are deeply interested. In the case of every man who falls, it may be admitted that the country is a loser, a loving kindred are

incomparably greater losers, and he himself has lost all he might have enjoyed in the fruitions of country, family and life. Such men by ten thousands must fall. *Can the nation spare so much of its life-blood?* Will not the national pulse grow faint under such a depletion? History teaches us directly the reverse. Their heroic names in the annals of their country are a source of national strength as well as of glory which their living presence could never equal. The defeated and slaughtered militia band at Lexington in 1775, the death of the inestimable Warren in the battle of Bunker Hill, the graves of the unknown dead in the national cemetery at Gettysburgh have added more, and while this nation shall endure, will continue to add more, both to the moral strength of her sons at home and to the wholesome fear of her prowess abroad, than would the presence of ten times as many untried living warriors marshalled for dress parade upon a bloodless soil. The warrior who falls in battle is not lost to his country. Every gory body which is planted in her gory soil is the seed of a future and perennial harvest of national honor, permanence and power.

But what can compensate the bereaved fathers and mothers, the widows and fatherless children? We do not speak now of mere material supplies to such as were dependent on the lost one for daily support; for a grateful country will not allow the dependent families of her slain defenders to suffer in the lack of the necessities of existence. But what can compensate the pang of bereavement—the hunger of the heart after the impossible presence and sight of the dead? We admit that that affectionate yearning may, for a brief space, be blind to its real solace; but time will not only lay a soothing hand upon the first spasms of grief, the hours of sober recollection, as life wears on, and the music of a delivered nation's gratitude, and above all, the proud honor, in distant years, of being allied by blood to names which will glisten like diamonds on the page of coming history, will pay a pension, in the noblest currency of the soul, to children's children of the latest generation.

But the man himself is gone; he partakes, it is said, in none of these rewards. Alas, how low and sordid a view of the career of human life such an assertion argues! Is it, then, the

great object of our earthly existence, to eat and sleep during the longest possible period, and when buried in the ground, to have the greatest possible age put upon the tomb-stone? I will not appeal to the theoretic wisdom of philosophy :

“ We live in deeds, not years.”

I will not appeal to the iron morality of Sparta, nor to the Roman mother's latest charge as she hung the shield upon the arm of her son: “ Return, my son, bringing this or brought upon it.” I will not appeal to the inspirations of religion and duty, even. I am content to revert to the common instincts of undebased humanity everywhere, and to ask if a man have no interest whether his life shall prove a blank, or a glorious power in the world — no interest in the name he will leave behind him — no interest in the blessings he will help, with the gift of his life, to purchase for his posterity and for mankind? Then are the aspirations of the race sunk to an equality with the swine; then is there, indeed, nothing worth fighting for, or suffering for; then is the forgotten spot where the old glutton, or the old

libertine, or coward is buried more glorious than the young grave of the philanthropist, the patriot, the martyr, wet for centuries with thankful pilgrims' tears.

THE CONDITION OF THE MAIMED.

Finally, *there is the cost of limb*; which appears to some more dreadful still, if we accept their words, than the loss of life itself, outright. The picture is held up to affright our gaze, of a nation filled with maimed men. But the sight kindles far different sentiments in my bosom. It is not pity that stirs within me. I doubt if those brave men require our mean compassion. But I have read of the legion of honor in the old world and I have found in our venerable Constitution that the creation of such distinctions by legislative enactment is forbidden forever in this land of equals. Yet I see that the Providence of God and the exigencies of these solemn years can create a legion of honor among us in spite of the Constitution. I see men decorated with badges which are not made of a scarlet ribband in the button-hole, nor of a dangling cross of gold and brilliants, but of marks which can-

not be counterfeited, or stolen, or lost. These inalienable badges were obtained by no unjustly successful rivalry or fawning sycophancy to the great. These decorations are given nowhere else but in the tug and smoke of battle and by the hand of God. Their glory is of that pure and exalted kind which excites no envy and stirs in the breasts of their fellow men only good will, respect and emulation. I follow them in coming years and I see their claims to veneration, gratitude and love everywhere spontaneously acknowledged. I see old age rise up to do them honor and womanhood respond with smiles and flowers. I see the tears of grateful pride on strong men's cheeks and enquiring children gazing with wonder at their thinning ranks, till the last of their number is laid to his honored rest. For my part, when I reflect on these things, I feel satisfied that this war for free institutions is not only worth its enormous costs, but that it will repay its suffering champions for all their sacrifices with a royal munificence.

EVIDENCES OF NEAR APPROACHING SUCCESS.

Will any body say that *this sounds like an*

unwarranted assumption of that final success which is not yet attained, and which no human foresight is able, at present, with certainty, to predict? When we remember how gloomy and dark the night was which had settled upon us at the close of 1861, when, surveying the Southern territory, we found the position of our foes formed by nature for defense and by art rendered almost impregnable; when we remember what an extended line of difficult sea-coast baffled the watch of our slender navy and what immense fortifications had been built by the enemy on every harbor, inlet and commanding position along the whole coast from Virginia to Texas; when we recall how thoroughly the whole line of the Alleghanies had been converted into a military bastion, running like a giant's breastwork through the centre of the hostile territory from Maryland to Alabama; when we revive the recollections of the great commercial avenue of the Mississippi controlled by the enemy at its mouth and studded with defiant fortresses along its sharply winding, densely wooded and often precipitous banks, for a thousand miles into the interior; and then, reverting to what has since

transpired, recall the struggle on the sea-coast, at Norfolk, at Newbern, at Beaufort, at Charleston, at St. Augustine, at Pensacola, at Mobile, at New Orleans, at Galveston and at minor ports, till with a single exception all are either firmly in our possession or sealed from all communication with the outside world; when we return to the valley of the Mississippi and bring to mind the exploits which have been performed at Forts Donelson and Henry, at Columbus, at Island No. 10, at Memphis, at Vicksburgh, and at the mouth of the river; when, finally, we come into the interior and follow the victories by means of which the flag of the nation has been planted, step by step, along the whole line of the Alleghanies, at Winchester, at Cumberland Gap, at Chattanooga, at Atlanta, till the enemy is completely driven from his mountain fastnesses to the open and level belt of the sea-coast—now reflecting that this is the result of less than three years' progressive movement of our army and navy; that it is a result which has been reached by a steady and continuous advance, notwithstanding the inevitable mistakes, losses, defeats and discouragements which are essentially incident

and to be expected in every great campaign; that it constitutes, on the whole, indisputably, a steady progress of firm conquest; so that the enemy's territory, to-day, is barely one-third of that which he originally carried into the rebellion; observing, moreover, that his armies, notwithstanding the most sweeping conscriptions, are greatly depleted and confronted at every point by superior numbers on our side; considering last of all, that we have the control of vastly better supplies, the resources of a twenty-fold greater reserved strength, with the commerce and industry of the world open to our hand, the prestige of decisive victories, the moral force of a recent and overwhelming re-election, and the soundness of a cause which carries with its destinies the best interests of mankind throughout the world — on this large and sober survey — on this comparison of the situation as it was with the situation as it now is — we confess that we think we can discern the streamers of dawn shooting rapidly up into the darkness of our national night — that we can see unmistakable signs which tell that we are steadily, and speedily, even, approaching a final victory.

But what do we know, some objector may ask, of the temper of the Southern people? How can we tell that they will not hold out forever? Have we not heard the assertion of their rulers and public journals, that they will *never* yield?—will be exterminated first?—will see all their cities burnt and their fields made a desert, rather than submit? We have only to answer that we take for granted that the Southern people are men of like passions with all others and are controlled by the same motives which have decided the conduct of all human beings, always and everywhere, in similar circumstances. We assume, therefore, that when they have come to feel, deeply enough, that their cause is hopeless, that their independence is impossible, that the war will go on, with more and still more terrible ravages, until they are ready to cry “Enough!” and submit to the established government of the land, they will not, then, continue to wait till the sword has devoured every male among them between sixteen and sixty and has rendered every inch of the soil they inhabit like the desert of Sahara; but they will do, and

the most desperate leaders on earth could not arrest their doing, just what all vanquished people who have ever yet lived have done, however it might go against their wish or will, *give up*.

At first they were deceived by hopes of a quick and bloodless victory over a people whom they had been taught to regard as too stupid, peaceful and avaricious to fight; or should it come to the shock of a few important battles, that the warlike Southrons could be counted on as good against five times their number of peace-loving and peace-trained Northerners; but though they found it out too late, they have found out that mistake. Next, they were buoyed up by the hope that their terrible invention of sea-going rams would demolish the blockading squadron, open their ports to the commerce of the world, and put it beyond human power either to exhaust or subdue them; they have found out that mistake. Then, they relied on foreign recognition, and an endurance till foreign aid should come to their rescue; they have found out that mistake. Finally they seemed sure of deliverance in the supposed reaction of national sentiment which

had set in at the North ; they have lately found out that dreadful mistake.

What barrier, then, now remains to be conjured up between their submission and the glittering steel of our overwhelming armies which are surely bent on the inflexible purpose of their submission or their extermination from the soil? These armies, too, are now sustained by a moral power behind them which all mankind must acknowledge and honor. The American people have just declared anew, by an immense majority of the whole nation, that they will have but one sovereign government, and that it shall be supreme over every acre which has owed allegiance to the Constitution of this Union. If, then, mad rebels will continue to throw themselves upon governmental bayonets, we must with solemn but unfaltering decision say, "Amen, let the last armed foe be slain, let the land be purified and healed!" But rest assured, fellow-citizens, that the people, the *ultimate* rulers at the South, even, instead of that dismal alternative, will turn and live and will yet be, with us, a united and happy people. God speed the day!

One word more. Our troubles are not yet over; nor were the troubles of the Psalmist and his nation over, when they sent up, for the first time, the inspired shout, "*The Lord hath done great things for us whereof we are glad.*" But the specific doctrine of that inspired moment was, to draw *an assured hope for the future, out of the remembered aid of God in the past.* "*They that sow in tears,*" they were taught to sing with the next breath, may know, even while their tears are flowing, that they "*shall reap in joy.*" He that still goes forth, even while he weeps, to carry and scatter the precious seed, with an assured hope in God, shall come home with rejoicing, when his labor is over and God's own season has brought around the fruit, bringing the sheaves of his reward—a reward which is due at once and alike to the force of his toil and to the secret energy of his hope in God.

So the tears of our war at the longest will be over, in God's good time. Now, we are bound to sow in hope. Then, not merely our happy share in the untold blessings of a country restored, regenerated and doubly beloved

will richly repay to us and to our posterity every possible present sacrifice; but the remembrance of personal costs honestly incurred for the common cause, while the sky hung dark and doubtful above the liberties of the land, will be such a source of honorable and rapturous satisfaction as oceans of selfishly hoarded pelf could never buy; and when, in distant years of national safety and peace, children's children shall climb our knees to learn the great story of these historic days, lisping with horror the name of traitor, it will be, I think, the sweetest earthly solace of our aged lives, to be able to say, "I sowed, through four, six, eight dark and bloody years in tears, that you, my darlings, might possess, established and intact, the thrice blessed government which my grandsires toiled and bled to buy for me."

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